

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-10 SAM-01 SAB-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 SCCT-01 EB-07

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 639

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

USINT BAGHDAD

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

CINCUSAFE

EUCOM

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 6867

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR TU

SUBJ: TURKISH EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH  
ARAB AND OTHER MOSLEM NEIGHBORS

SUMMARY: DEMIREL GOVERNMENT HAS ATTEMPTED TO IMPROVE  
TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH ARAB AND OTHER MOSLEM COUNTRIES.  
WHILE GOT HAD SEEMED SATISFIED WITH PROGRESS TO DATE, ACTION  
OF NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN LIMA ON CYPRUS ISSUE INDICATES  
THAT IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS STILL HAS A LONG WAY TO GO. END  
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SUMMARY.

1. THE LAST SEVERAL GOVERNMENTS OF TURKEY HAVE PUBLICLY COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH TURKEY'S ARAB AND OTHER MOSLEM NEIGHBORS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT IS NO EXCEPTION. ITS PROGRAM, WHICH WAS PUBLISHED IN APRIL 1975, STATED "WE WILL FOLLOW A VERY ACTIVE PROGRAM FOR THE RAPID PROMOTION OF THESE RELATIONS WHICH ARE FOUNDED ON THE STRONG GROUND OF COMMON INTERESTS AS MUCH AS MORAL TIES."

2. THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT HAS DISTINGUISHED ITSELF FROM ITS PREDECESSORS, HOWEVER, BY MORE VIGOROUS PURSUIT OF BETTER RELATIONS WITH THESE COUNTRIES. DURING ITS FIVE MONTHS IN POWER, THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN THE FOLLOWING PUBLIC STEPS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THESE NATIONS:

A). IN JUNE, PRESIDENT KORUTURK VISITED IRAN AND SIGNED WHAT WAS DESCRIBED AS A MAJOR ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT. THE SHAH HAS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION FOR A RETURN VISIT, WHICH PROBABLY WILL TAKE PLACE IN LATE OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER.

B). IN MID-JULY, FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL ATTENDED THE ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE IN JIDDA. WHILE THERE CAGLAYANGIL, WHO WAS THE FIRST TURKISH FONMIN TO ATTEND SUCH A MEETING, OFFERED TO HOST THE NEXT ANNUAL ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE. HE WAS ALSO EXTENDED AN INVITATION TO MAKE A BILATERAL VISIT TO JIDDA IN THE FALL.

C). LATER IN JULY, CAGLAYANGIL VISITED KUWAIT, QATAR AND BAHREIN.

D). IN EARLY AUGUST CAGLAYANGIL VISITED LIBYA IN ONE OF A SERIES OF VISITS BY HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS OF BOTH NATIONS. TURKISH-LIBYAN RELATIONS HAVE BEEN CLOSE SINCE LIBYA OFFERED MORAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT DURING THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN JULY-AUGUST 1974. WHILE THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT CANNOT TAKE THE CREDIT FOR THE INITIATIVE, IT HAS CULTIVATED THE CONFIDENTIAL

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RELATIONSHIP.

E). IN MID-AUGUST CAGLAYANGIL HOSTED A VISIT BY PLO "FOREIGN MINISTER" QADDOUMI WHICH ENDED ON DISCORDANT NOTE. PLO HAD ANNOUNCED IT HOPED TO OPEN AN OFFICE IN ANKARA; HOWEVER, IN RETURN FOR ALLOWING OFFICE TO BE ESTABLISHED IN ANKARA, TURKEY APPARENTLY INSISTED THAT THE PLO ALSO OPEN AN OFFICE IN TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF

CYPRUS (TFSC). THE PLO REFUSED (ANKARA 6409).

F). SEVERAL ADDITIONAL CABINET AND SUB-CABINET LEVEL EXCHANGE VISITS HAVE TAKEN PLACE DURING LAST FEW MONTHS INCLUDING MININTERIOR TO BAGHDAD, MFA SECGEN TO BAGHDAD, MINCOM TO DAMASCUS, AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE AIR FORCE TO TRIPOLI.

3. DURING RECENT CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFFS, MFA DIRECTOR OF MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA AFFAIRS, FARUK CELILOGLU, DISCUSSED THE GOT'S EFFORT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THOSE NATIONS. HE SAID TURKISH GOALS WERE MODEST AND THAT UNFORTUNATELY THE UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS GENERATED BY NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY (NSP) CHAIRMAN NECMETTIN ERBAKAN DURING HIS VISIT TO SAUDI ARABIA 18 MONTHS AGO CONTRASTED WITH A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF WHAT MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED.

4. CELILOGLU NOTED THAT THERE WERE SEVERAL FACTORS WHICH DICTATED A LIMITED EFFORT ON TURKEY'S PART. PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, HE SAID, WAS FACT THAT TURKEY'S ARAB AND ISLAMIC NEIGHBORS WOULD NOT NECESSARILY RESPOND TO ITS DIPLOMATIC OVERTURE WITH OPEN ARMS. SECOND, TURKEY WAS RELUCTANT TO INVITE THE INTERFERENCE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS THAT CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH "BROTHER MOSLEMS" WOULD INVOLVE. FINALLY, HE SAID, ONE COULD NEVER BE SURE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TOMORROW WITH FRIENDS LIKE KHADDAFI. CELILOGLU SAID THAT GOT WAS SATISFIED WITH PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN MADE AND INTENDED TO CONTINUE IN MODEST AND MEASURED WAY TO NURTURE ITS RELATIONS WITH THESE NATIONS WHICH, INCLUDING IRAN, HAD ANNUAL INCOME IN EXCESS OF \$90 BILLION.

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5. COMMENT: TURKISH ATTEMPT TO MEND ITS FENCES WITH ITS NEAR EASTERN NEIGHBORS SEEMS TO STEM FROM A COMPLEX COMBINATION OF A) THE DESIRE TO INCREASE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ITS CYPRUS POLICY; B) A SEARCH FOR NEW FRIENDS TO SUPPLEMENT OR REPLACE THOSE IN THE WEST WHO, IN TURKISH EYES, APPEAR TO BE TURNING AWAY FROM TURKEY; C) A RECOGNITION THAT MANY OF THESE COUNTRIES, POSSESSORS OF PETRO-DOLLARS, ARE RICH AND THEREFORE POTENTIAL SOURCES OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE; AND D) THE INSISTENCE BY THE ISLAMIC-ORIENTED NSP, THAT THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH ISLAMIC COUNTRIES BE GIVEN EMPHASIS.

6. WITH LIBYA, IRAN AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT IRAQ, TURKEY'S EFFORTS HAVE PRODUCED POSITIVE, IF LIMITED, RESULTS PRIMARILY IN ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS. COOPERATION ON

POLITICAL MATTERS IS STILL VERY RESTRICTED HOWEVER, PERHAPS BECAUSE OF THEIR CENTO TIES TURKEY AND IRAN HAVE DEVELOPED A DEGREE OF POLITICAL COOPERATION. WITH THE ARABS TURKEY HAS SIMPLY BEEN UNWILLING TO MEET THEIR DEMANDS WITH REGARD TO ISRAEL. LIKEWISE, WITH THE NOTEWORTHY EXCEPTION OF LIBYA, THE ARABS HAVE BEEN LUKEWARM AT BEST IN THEIR SUPPORT OF TURKEY ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE. FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL TRIED VERY HARD TO WIN ARAB SUPPORT FOR TURKEY'S CYPRUS POLICY WHILE HE WAS AT THE ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE IN JIDDA. HE REPORTEDLY THOUGHT HE HAD DONE SO.

7. PERHAPS THE SUBSEQUENT DISPUTE WITH THE PLO (PARA 2(E)) UNDOED WHATEVER CAGLAYANGIL HAD DONE OR PERHAPS HE WAS MISLED. REGARDLESS, RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AT THE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN LIMA INDICATE TURKEY'S EFFORTS ON THE POLITICAL FRONT HAVE MET WITH VERY LIMITED SUCCESS. THE FINAL DECLARATION OF THE CONFERENCE REPORTEDLY CONDEMNED BOTH THE TURKISH INTERVENTION IN CYPRUS AND THE CREATION OF THE TFSC, AND IT CALLED FOR THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS. SINCE A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE 82 PARTICIPANTS AT THE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE WERE ARAB AND OTHER ISLAMIC COUNTRIES TURKEY IS VERY UNHAPPY WITH WHAT IT CONSIDERS A BREACH OF FAITH. ON THE OTHER HAND PLO "FOREIGN MINISTER" QADDOUMI IS QUOTED IN THE SEPTEMBER 5 PRESS TO HAVE SAID THAT THE TURKS "SPOILED THE GAME"

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AT LIMA BY GOING BACK ON THEIR EARLIER COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT THE PLO.

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## Message Attributes

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